

whom did he consult? With whom did Adolph Hitler talk? With whom did he consult?

It was not a free and independent Senate. If they had a free and independent Senate that had control of the power and control of the purse strings, history might have been different. Hundreds of thousands of lives might have been saved.

Mr. President, let us not act in haste. Let us forget about our politics. Let us not be for or against a resolution on the question of war or peace on the basis of what party we belong to. Let us put that question in a way that we will be with and in support of the Constitution.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now go into a period for the transaction of routine morning business and that Senators may speak therein for not to exceed 3 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### IN REMEMBRANCE OF SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article from the Wall Street Journal dated September 11, 2002.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Sept. 11, 2002]

#### WE WILL PREVAIL

(By Theodore Olson)

From a speech by Solicitor General Theodore Olson to the Federalist Society on Nov. 16, 2001. Mr. Olson's wife, Barbara, was one of the airplane passengers murdered on Sept. 11, 2001.

September 11, 2001 was unprecedented in our nation's history. Our country has been attacked before. Our soldiers and innocent citizens have been the victims of terrorism before. But never before in our history have so many civilian citizens, engaged in the routines of their daily lives, who neither individually nor collectively had done anything to provoke the savage attack that they were to experience that day, been brutally murdered for the simple reason that they were Americans, and because they stood, in their countless individual lives, for all the things that America symbolizes.

As President Bush immediately recognized, Sept. 11 was an act of war. But it was much more than that. It was also a crime, an act of pure hatred and unmitigated evil.

The victims were of all races, backgrounds, religions, ages and qualities. They had one thing in common. They were nearly all Americans. Their lives were extinguished because they were the embodiment of the aspirations of most of the world's peoples. The people who killed them hate the beacon that America holds out to people who are impoverished, enslaved, persecuted and subjugated everywhere in the world.

The men who planned the savage acts of Sept. 11 cannot prevail as long as American ideals continue to inspire the people they hope to tyrannize and enslave.

It is a cynical lie that the animals that killed our loved ones were motivated by Islam, or because this nation of ours is anti-Islamic. Enshrined in the First Amendment to our Constitution is freedom of expression and the free exercise of religion. This continent was populated by people who crossed a terrifying ocean to reach a rugged and inhospitable frontier to escape religious persecution.

From its birth, this nation and the American people have offered sanctuary and shelter to all faiths. Our Constitution—always with the support of our people—has extended its embrace to the unpopular, the unusual, the unconventional and the unorthodox. We protect not only those who will not salute our flag, but those who would spit upon it or burn it. We pledge our allegiance to a Constitution that shelters those who refuse to pledge their allegiance to it.

It is true, I suppose, that there are many in the Middle East who hate this country for its support of Israel. But how tragic and misguided to despise us for extending comfort and defense to a people who have so long, and so recently, been the victims of indescribable ethnic persecution. Nor has America's support for Israel ever been rooted in or manifested by hostility to the Muslim faith or those who practice it. The terrorists and their apologists have lied about these things, but what is another lie when their goals and tactics are so vastly more evil?

The terrorists can succeed only through corruption and brutality. Thus they must tear down America and its system of laws which shields its people from those malevolent acts. They can enslave the people they wish to subjugate only by keeping them poor and destitute, so they must undermine and discredit the one place in all the world that stands the most for the rule of law and allows its people the opportunity to rise above all those conditions.

Abraham Lincoln was paraphrasing our Declaration of Independence when he characterized our nation as having been "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." That revolutionary document set down our collective belief in inalienable human rights, the proposition that governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed, the principle that tyrants who would oppress their people are unfit to be rulers of a free people, and the right to the pursuit of happiness.

The terrorists of Sept. 11 cannot prevail in a world occupied by the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and its Bill of Rights, the Emancipation Proclamation, the Gettysburg Address, the Statue of Liberty, the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, the Capitol, the Supreme Court and the White House. They cannot co-exist with these ideals, these principles, these institutions and these symbols. So they cannot survive, much less prevail, in the same world as America.

America is not today, or ever, without imperfections and shortcomings. Implementation of our lofty ideals has never been without error, and some of our mistakes have been shameful. But the course of our history has been constant, if occasionally erratic, progress from the articulation of those lofty ideals to the extension of their reality to all our people—those who were born here and those, from hundreds of diverse cultures, who flock here.

There is no segment or class of the world's peoples who have exclusive claim on the term "American," and no segment of the world's population to whom that claim has been denied. We welcome 100,000 refugees per year into this country. Over 650,000 people immigrated legally to America in the most recent year for which we have reliable statis-

tics. Over five million people are in this country today who were so desperate to come here that they did so illegally.

There are more Jews in New York City than in Israel. More Poles in Chicago than any city in the world except Warsaw. America is home to 39 million Irish-Americans, 58 million German-Americans, 39 million Hispanic-Americans and nearly a million Japanese-Americans. And there are seven million Muslims in America, nearly the population of New York City.

How tragic it is that the agents of the Sept. 11 terrorist acts were people whom we welcome to this country, and to whom we extended all of our freedoms, the protections of all of our laws, and the opportunities this country affords to everyone to travel, work and live. But we welcome immigrants because nearly all of us are immigrants or descendants of immigrants who came here to enjoy freedoms, rights, liberties, and the opportunity, denied elsewhere, to pursue happiness and prosperity.

Ronald Reagan often said that "every once in a while, each of us native-born Americans should make it a point to have a conversation with someone who is an American by choice." Mr. Reagan was fond of quoting from a letter he received from a man who wrote, "you can go to live in Turkey, but you can't become a Turk. You can't go to live in Japan and become Japanese, [and so on for Germany, France, etc.]. But . . . anyone from any corner of the world can come to America and be an American."

So it is particularly sad and a bitter irony that the 19 savages who took the lives of thousands of Americans were able to come here because we welcomed them, and trusted them, and allowed them to learn to fly our airplanes and gave them the freedom to travel. They took these precious gifts and turned them into instruments of hatred and death.

It has, I suppose, always caused some resentment that we believe so passionately and unquestioningly that the freedoms we value should belong to all people. But we know that these are enduring values. We can debate nearly everything else, but we don't need to debate that. We know that these principles lift everyone up.

We have now been reminded, in the most horrible way, that there are those who not only hate our principles, but who would dedicate their lives—and surrender their lives—to banish those ideals and the incentives they provide for tyrannized and impoverished people everywhere to do what Americans did in 1776. We have tragically learned again, in the most unthinkable fashion, that our values and our principles are neither self-executing nor self-sustaining, and that we must sacrifice and fight to maintain what our forebears sacrificed and fought to bequeath to us.

And now the rest of the world is learning again that Americans will not flinch from that fight or tire of it. Americans will fight, they will sacrifice, and they will not give up or leave the job unfinished. This war is for all living Americans. It is for the parents, grandparents and great-grandparents that fought and sacrificed to come here. And it is for our children and generations to come. And it is for those who choose to become Americans in the future.

America will not lose this war because we cannot even consider that we will lose what centuries of Americans fought to create, improve and maintain. We cannot, and we will not, betray the people who gave us this glorious heritage. We cannot and will not, dishonor or wash away the memories of those who somehow clawed their way out of poverty, tyranny and persecution to come to this country because it was America, and because they were willing to risk death to become Americans, and to give their children

and grandchildren the opportunity and freedom and inspiration that makes this place America. Americans could no longer call themselves Americans if they could walk away from that legacy.

People who write for newspapers and who offer opinions on television, or who send advice to us from other parts of the world, sometimes say that America is too rich, lazy, complacent, frightened, soft and enervated to fight this fight. That we have no stamina, strength, will, patience, or steel. That we will collapse.

They are so wrong. We will prevail for the very reason that we have been attacked. Because we are Americans. Because the values that made us free, make us strong; because the principles that made us prosperous, make us creative, resourceful, innovative, determined and fiercely protective of our freedoms, our liberties and our rights to be individuals and to aspire to whatever we choose to be. Those values and those characteristics will lift us and will defeat the black forces who have assaulted our ideals, our country and our people.

The very qualities that bring immigrants and refugees to this country in the thousands every day, made us vulnerable to the attack of Sept. 11, but those are also the qualities that will make us victorious and unvanquished in the end.

#### FOOD FOR GUNS PROGRAM

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, this Saturday the Detroit Police Department will begin a new gun buyback program offering a \$25 gift certificate for gas and a \$25 gift certificate for food to anyone who brings in an unloaded gun. Last year, a very successful similar effort took more than 600 guns off the streets of Detroit.

During the past week, volunteers from the Youth Initiative Project, an organization dedicated to drug prevention and stopping youth violence, have gone door-to-door informing people throughout the community of the program. In addition, the Youth Initiative Project is planning a Family Safety Fun Day to coincide with the gun buyback program that will distribute trigger locks and information on gun safety.

There have been 14 young people killed by guns this year in metro Detroit. In response to these tragic shootings, the Youth Initiative Project held a town hall meeting at the Redford Branch of the Detroit Public Library on how to prevent gun violence. Some of the organizers were trained this summer at the Youth Action Institute, a three day convention in Washington, D.C. sponsored by the Alliance for Justice. These same volunteers are planning three more town hall meetings in Detroit and then will move their program into local schools.

I hope my colleagues will join me in commending the Detroit Police Department for this positive approach to getting guns off the streets and the Youth Initiative Project for their efforts to make the day a success and their commitment to educating their peers on gun safety.

#### NEEDED: REGIME CHANGES IN BURMA AND CAMBODIA

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, on August 1, 2002 the United States and the Association for Southeast Asian Nations, ASEAN, signed a "Joint Declaration for Cooperation To Combat International Terrorism."

Through this Declaration, both Burma and Cambodia affirmed commitments "to counter, prevent, and suppress all forms of terrorist acts . . ." and pledged to view "acts of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, committed wherever, whenever, and by whomsoever, as a profound threat to international peace and security. . . ."

Lest the irony of these commitments be lost on my colleagues, let me say a word or two about each country.

For over a decade, the people of Burma have been under the repressive misrule of military thugs who have systematically ruined the economy, while profiting from illicit activities, imprisoned political opponents, (including those legitimately elected by the people of Burma), raped ethnic girls and women, forced into labor children and villagers, and squandered scarce financial resources on military weapons and nuclear technology, at the expense of the welfare of their compatriots.

Just last week, two members of the youth wing of the National League for Democracy—the legitimately elected representatives of the people of Burma—were arrested and sentenced to three years in prison for possessing a journal published by exiled dissidents. By any definition, the State Peace and Development Council's rule in Burma has been a reign of terror.

In neighboring Cambodia, the ruling party is led by a former Khmer Rouge guerilla whose penchant for violence is well known, and documented, throughout the region. In July 1997, Prime Minister Hun Sen staged a bloody coup d'etat to oust his royalist rivals, and he is the prime suspect in a brutal assassination attempt on the country's sole opposition leader, Sam Rainsy.

That attempt, which occurred during a political rally on Easter Sunday in 1997, failed, but killed and injured scores of Cambodians. American democracy worker Ron Abney was injured in the terrorist attack, and has long suspected that Hun Sen was the devious mastermind. To this day, Ron and all victims of Hun Sen's terror are awaiting justice.

I am also troubled by news reports that Heng Sean, an opposition activist, was murdered in Kampong Cham over the weekend. It appears that Mr. Heng's only crime was to support Sam Rainsy and his agenda for reform.

For my colleagues less familiar with Cambodian affairs, I recommend reading "The Cambodian Conundrum" by veteran journalist Nate Thayer, Foreign Service Journal, March 2002, which provides keen insights into the previous Administration's "blind eye" foreign policy in Cambodia.

Given the actions of Southeast Asian hardliners in Rangoon and Phnom Penh, last month's pledges to combat terrorism ring hollow. It would serve American interests in the war on terrorism—as well as benefit the welfare of the people of Burma and Cambodia—for regime changes to occur in those countries.

#### UNITED STATES POLICY ON SUDAN

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I rise today to comment on the situation in Sudan, a country characterized by brutal fighting and tremendous suffering, a country in which an estimated two million people have died in just the past decade from war-related causes, and where millions more have been displaced.

In July, I held a hearing on U.S. Policy in Sudan in my capacity as chairman of the African Affairs Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. At that time, I praised the administration for devoting high-level attention to the plight of the Sudanese people. As I noted then, the President and the Secretary of State have spoken out about Sudan. The President appointed Senator John Danforth to be his Special Envoy for Peace in Sudan. USAID Administrator Andrew Natsios was named Special Humanitarian Coordinator for Sudan. As a result of Senator Danforth's efforts, the International Eminent Persons Group has investigated means for preventing abductions and slavery and has reported on its findings. And in July, negotiations between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Army, or SPLA, in Machakos, Kenya produced a broad framework for ending the civil war and providing the people of the south with the means to exercise their right to self-determination. All of this deserves praise.

But currently, the negotiations are troubled. The Government of Sudan pulled its negotiators out of Machakos in response to the SPLA's capturing the strategic garrison town of Torit on September 1. Many observers, including key American officials, believe that the process is not permanently derailed but merely disrupted. Still, this disruption calls the world's attention to a rather telling point. There is no ceasefire on the ground in Sudan, and not only do military engagements continue, so too do attacks on civilians and the manipulation of humanitarian assistance. The situation of the Sudanese people has not improved despite the developments at the negotiating table.

I continue to support the administration's efforts to work with Inter-governmental Authority on Development, IGAD, to facilitate the peace process. But given this disconnect between reality on the ground and rhetoric in negotiations, given the troubled recent history of United States-Sudanese relations, given the scale and scope of the